

Your country, Our War: The Press And Diplomacy In Afghanistan Katherine A. Brown pdf download

<https://ebookmass.com/product/your-country-our-war-the-press-and-diplomacy-in-afghanistan-katherine-a-brown/>

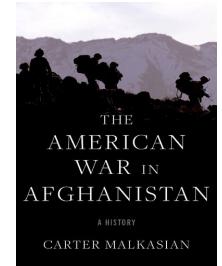


Explore and download more ebooks at ebookmass.com

We believe these products will be a great fit for you. Click the link to download now, or visit ebookmass.com to discover even more!

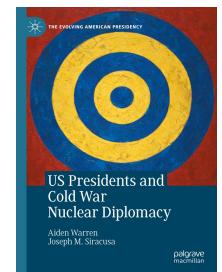
The American War in Afghanistan Carter Malkasian

<https://ebookmass.com/product/the-american-war-in-afghanistan-carter-malkasian/>



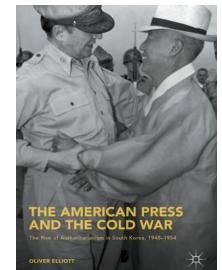
US Presidents and Cold War Nuclear Diplomacy Aiden Warren

<https://ebookmass.com/product/us-presidents-and-cold-war-nuclear-diplomacy-aiden-warren/>



The American Press and the Cold War 1st ed. Edition Oliver Elliott

<https://ebookmass.com/product/the-american-press-and-the-cold-war-1st-edition-oliver-elliott/>



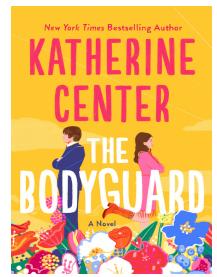
Power and diplomacy: India's foreign policies during the Cold War Zorawar Daulet Singh

<https://ebookmass.com/product/power-and-diplomacy-indias-foreign-policies-during-the-cold-war-zorawar-daulet-singh/>

Power and Diplomacy

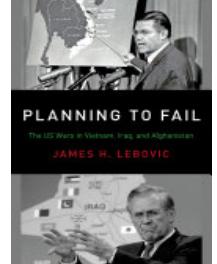
The Bodyguard: A Novel Katherine Center

<https://ebookmass.com/product/the-bodyguard-a-novel-katherine-center/>



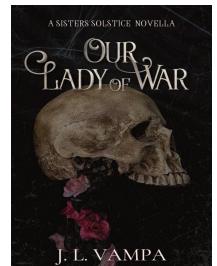
Planning to Fail: The US Wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan Lebovic

<https://ebookmass.com/product/planning-to-fail-the-us-wars-in-vietnam-iraq-and-afghanistan-lebovic/>



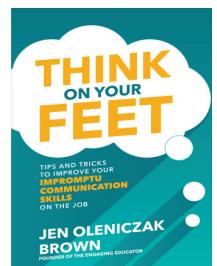
Our Lady of War: A Sisters Solstice Novella (The Sisters Solstice Book 4) J.L. Vampa

<https://ebookmass.com/product/our-lady-of-war-a-sisters-solstice-novella-the-sisters-solstice-book-4-j-l-vampa/>



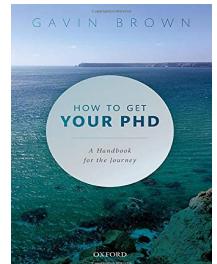
Think on your feet: tips and tricks to improve your impromptu communication skills on the job Brown

<https://ebookmass.com/product/think-on-your-feet-tips-and-tricks-to-improve-your-impromptu-communication-skills-on-the-job-brown/>



How to Get Your PhD : A Handbook for the Journey 1st Edition Gavin Brown

<https://ebookmass.com/product/how-to-get-your-phd-a-handbook-for-the-journey-1st-edition-gavin-brown/>



زموږ هیواد، ستابو جنګ

your country, our war

جنګ شما، کشور ما

The Press
and Diplomacy
in Afghanistan

KATHERINE A. BROWN

Your Country, Our War

Your Country, Our War

The Press and Diplomacy
in Afghanistan

KATHERINE A. BROWN



Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

© Oxford University Press 2019

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization. Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Brown, Katherine A., author.

Title: Your country, our war : the press and diplomacy in Afghanistan /
Katherine A. Brown.

Description: New York, NY, United States of America : Oxford University
Press, [2019] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018031175 (print) | LCCN 2018045038 (ebook) |
ISBN 9780190879426 (Updf) | ISBN 9780190879433 (Epub) |

ISBN 9780190879419 (pbk. :acid-free paper) | ISBN 9780190879402 (hbk.)
Subjects: LCSH: Afghan War, 2001—Press coverage—United States. |

Afghan War, 2001—Press coverage—Afghanistan. |
Journalism—Afghanistan—History—21st century. |

Press and politics—Afghanistan.

Classification: LCC DS371.4135 (ebook) | LCC DS371.4135 B76 2019 (print) |

DDC 958.104/72—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018031175>

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Paperback printed by Sheridan Books, Inc., United States of America

Hardback printed by Bridgeport National Bindery, Inc., United States of America

*For my parents, John and Christine Brown,
who gave me the world.*

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
1. Hamid Karzai vs. the <i>New York Times</i>	1
2. 9/11 and the American Press	14
3. Afghanistan in Americans' Imagination	28
4. Afghanistan's Press	51
5. The Modern Afghan Journalist	72
6. U.S. Correspondents in Afghanistan	94
7. Your Country, Our War	123
8. The Diplomatic Dimension of News	154
<i>Appendix I: Methodology</i>	171
<i>Appendix II: Interview Subjects</i>	175
<i>Notes</i>	177
<i>References</i>	239
<i>Index</i>	267

Preface

THE FIRST TIME I met Hamid Karzai was on December 15, 2003. My colleagues from the American embassy and I waited for him in a white, airy tent on the grounds of the Polytechnic University in western Kabul, a few feet away from where 502 delegates gathered for the *Constitutional Loya Jirga*. The men, and some women, from each of Afghanistan's 32 provinces were working to forge the country's first democratic constitution in its 5,000-year history via a massive, grand version of the traditional assembly known as a *jirga*.¹ As an optimistic 25-year-old, I had arrived in Afghanistan a month before to serve as a junior press aide.

The U.S. news media version of Afghanistan depicted a country full of rapid progress after bleak decades of war and fundamentalism. A new constitution was one of the many firsts in Afghanistan that would happen in the next year, including the first paved highway from Kabul to Kandahar, the first presidential election, and the first independent television station. My colleagues and I were eager to continue to pitch these hopeful news stories to the American press. While U.S. embassies' public affairs officers normally target local press, the Afghan media were so nascent, and the concept of free speech was so foreign, that local journalists looked to their American and other Western counterparts for content and editorial guidance. But by late 2003, the majority of Western broadcast stations had shifted their attention 1,800 miles away to Iraq, the other U.S.-led post-9/11 war. With the communications infrastructure still weak in Afghanistan, and no U.S. television reporters stationed in the country, we purchased satellite time so that news anchors in New York could directly interview the Afghan President about the *jirga* as a historic milestone.

We turned the tent into a miniature, barebones television studio. It was winter in Kabul and we all shivered as we waited for Karzai to arrive. Around 8 p.m., the U.S. east coast 9.5 hours behind, he swept in wearing his signature green and blue striped cape and lamb's wool hat.

Visit <https://ebookmass.com> today to explore

a vast collection of ebooks across various genres, available in popular formats like PDF, EPUB, and MOBI, fully compatible with all devices. Enjoy a seamless reading experience and effortlessly download high-quality materials in just a few simple steps. Plus, don't miss out on exciting offers that let you access a wealth of knowledge at the best prices!

In impeccable English, he spoke excitedly of the day's deliberations and what that meant for Afghanistan's future. We guided him to a chair and placed an "IFB" (interruptible foldback) that provided an audio feed into his ear. Then we stood and watched as he spoke to Tom Brokaw of NBC News about the progress taking place in America's "good war," which also was already being referred to as a forgotten one.² Karzai often smiled as he spoke, his rapport with the anchor already firmly established during the previous two years. His tone was easy and relaxed.

To the West, Karzai was a symbol of optimism, unification, and progress—even elegance. Acclaimed fashion designer Tom Ford called him in 2002 "the chicest man on the planet"; *Esquire* magazine later anointed him one of the best-dressed men in the world, alongside Tom Brady and Jay-Z.³ He was not just a darling of the American government, but also of the American press.

That cold December night was at the top of my mind on October 24, 2016, as I was escorted into Karzai's residence in the former United Nations compound in the center of Kabul, around the corner from the presidential palace he had occupied for nearly 13 years. It was the same compound where, in 1996, the Taliban castrated former president Mohammad Najibullah Ahmadzai and his brother, and then tied them to trucks and dragged them to their deaths through the streets of Kabul. The same compound that, nearly five years later, hosted a fresh generation of UN employees who believed the new international coalition was accelerating advancement in a country that desperately deserved it.

After passing through three waves of security, where women patted me down and took away all but my notebook and voice recorder, I entered the familiar space. The compound was an oasis from the haze of car exhaust on the streets. Four one-floor buildings lined the perimeter of a lush green courtyard with vibrant rose bushes holding on to the last warmth of the year. Delegations of Afghans from throughout the country walked through the compound daily to see Karzai, to still consult with him about their problems and ask for his help. I passed one delegation, and one of Karzai's young male assistants escorted me to a waiting room. Two elders from Nangarhar, an eastern province that borders Pakistan, were already there. "She is writing a book," an aide must have said to them in Pashto as I sat down. The elder closest to me turned and said in English, "You are writing a book!" It was more of a statement than a question, but I nodded anyway.

After more than a dozen years of traveling to Afghanistan for work and research, I went to Kabul in fall 2016 to finish writing this book. I completed my doctoral dissertation in 2013 on the Afghan, American, and Pakistani news media's storytelling during the U.S.-led war. I then sat on the research for years, chipping away at rewrites for no more than a couple hours a week. I decided to focus exclusively on the U.S.-Afghan relationship for the book and realized that the nearly four-year pause was necessary to see what had become of the country after the 2014 deadline President Barack Obama had set for American troop withdrawal—and soon after the U.S.-led war entered its sixteenth year on October 7, 2016.

"We are here to talk about Daesh!" the elder proclaimed, using the Arabic term for the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). Daesh's activities in Iraq and Syria and its encroachment into Europe and the United States had become the dominant foreign news story in the American press in 2015 and 2016, far surpassing any mention of al Qaeda and/or the Taliban. "You know about Daesh?" he asked me with a smile.

"Yes," I replied. "I'm an American. We know about Daesh." I smiled back.

Both of the elders laughed, likely amused that I thought I knew about the apocalyptic death cult they were trying to keep from invading their homes when they weren't busy trying to keep the Taliban at bay.

Graciously, they insisted I speak with the former president first. I was escorted outside. Karzai was there, waving me over. He had traded his cap and cape for a simple *khet partug*, the traditional Pashtun dress of a beige flowy tunic and wide-legged pants with a black vest. We walked together to another building, which housed his library. One of his small daughters ran to him and he stopped to introduce me. A lifetime had elapsed between the 2003 Constitutional Loya Jirga and the present day, and he understandably didn't remember me. I explained briefly who I was, why I had come to Afghanistan in the first place, and why I had requested to see him.

As an administrative aide to President Bush's National Security Advisor in 2002–2003, I believed in the U.S. mission in Afghanistan and volunteered to be a public affairs assistant at the embassy in Kabul. Unlike the tightly controlled environment of 2016, I was fairly mobile when I lived in the American compound. I traveled to Mazar-e-Sharif, Jalalabad, Kandahar, Kunar, Sheberghan, Bamiyan, and Herat, and I embraced a country seemingly unrivaled in its ability to combine beauty with tragedy. The long history it had with the United States, its centrality to centuries

of great power politics, and the devastation it suffered along the way both fascinated and horrified me. After I stopped working for the U.S. government in late 2004, I sought reasons to return. The chaos and complexity of the place drove many Americans and Westerners from there, mad and frustrated. But for some of us, trying to understand Afghanistan and the region became an addiction, as we felt inexplicably connected to the people and their enduring struggle for a life of peace. We felt we could do something to help.

But this time in 2016, more than any other visit, the city felt starkly different, and the American media's coverage reflected that. Setbacks in the Afghan economy, its security, its democratic governance, and nationwide respect for human rights—especially for women—were well documented despite a progressive technocrat, Ashraf Ghani, serving as president of a shaky national unity government that was engineered by the United States in 2014. Wazir Akbar Khan—the neighborhood with Karzai's current compound as well as the presidential palace, U.S. and other Western embassies, and the International Security Assistance Force—was now heavily fortified. I could barely recognize the area; its once familiar buildings were now locked up behind high, armored walls with coils of barbed wire. Some Westerners began to refer to the neighborhood as the “Green Zone,” a term from the U.S.-led Iraq War that meant the space was secured from outside threats. We had never used that term in Kabul before. Nestled in the middle of it was the *New York Times* house, where I stayed for this trip. I woke up each morning to the sound of helicopters flying overhead. They were moving not troops but U.S. embassy civilians between their offices and the airport—which was only a mile away; the short stretch of road was deemed to be too dangerous to drive. The idea that American officials were living in Afghanistan was only by time zone; more than ever before, the U.S. embassy felt frighteningly isolated.

The deteriorating situation had been reflected in the American media's shifting portrayal of the country over the years as well as their shifting portrayal of Karzai himself. By the end of his presidency, he too was isolated, rarely leaving the palace grounds, preferring instead that Afghan provincial leaders come to him, as they still do today. He and his country watched nearly 200,000 American soldiers, diplomats, and aid workers who tried to provide security and development support for the country come and go. When security did not improve, when the war dragged on, when corruption worsened, when infrastructure deteriorated, Karzai became

increasingly vocal about his aggravation with his American and other Western partners. By 2009, he began to openly clash with the Obama administration, accusing U.S. officials of interference and hypocrisy. In August 2016, he had told the press that “the Americans, whose primary slogan is democracy, are making a sham of democracy in Afghanistan.”⁴ He thought that the American free press was also a sham, voicing a belief held by the leaders of many other developing countries: that in the same way the American government has the power to shape the international system, the American news media have the power to fix people’s perceptions of countries that operate within that system. If the country is not a Western one, the image Western journalists often bestow upon it is of a failed and conflict-ridden state.

As we finished our interview, which is the subject of Chapter 1, I thanked him for his time. I explained how a generation of American public servants and aid professionals—my generation, the one that professionally came of age post-9/11—had spent years in the country he once led and how fondly we think of Afghanistan and the Afghan people. I started to stand up, but he gestured for me to sit down. He asked:

But how do the *common* Americans see Afghanistan? How do they understand Afghanistan? What perception do they have of us? As a violent people? As a people with a history, with a culture, or a people simply with guns and violence? What we see in the Western press . . . it is not the story in Afghanistan, in many ways. We are affected by violence, of course. But we are also a people, a country with weddings, with life, with people meeting. There’s music, there’s culture, there’s history, there’s niceties in life. Do they recognize that? Because the American media has not given that picture to the American people . . . Or has it? Have they? No.

There was sincerity in his voice, a nostalgia for the time when American journalists expressed nothing but respect for his country and his leadership, as Tom Brokaw and so many others had. Years after that cold night in 2003, Karzai would try to dilute the Western media’s portrayal of him as corrupt and his country as backward by discrediting the sources, but the reputation of his country in the West remained as a violent and failed nation.

“No,” I confirmed. “They mostly have not.”⁵

THIS BOOK IS about the storytelling and framing of modern Afghanistan and of America's longest war from the perspectives of two nations' media systems. It reviews how news intersects with international politics and discusses the global power and reach of the U.S. news media, especially within the context of the post-9/11 era. It is based on years of interviews conducted between 2009 and 2017, in Kabul, Washington, and New York. It also draws from two bodies of communications scholarship that are analogous yet rarely linked together. The first is on hegemony and the U.S. news media's relationship with American society and the government. This includes literature on indexing and cascading; agenda-building and agenda-setting; framing; and conflict reportage. The second is on the American news media's relationship with the world and how *national bias*—defined as creating and maintaining a shared sense of identity—and *ethnocentrism*—defined as evaluating other people's cultures according to the standards of one's own culture—are fixed phenomena in international news. This includes examining the different kinds of press systems that exist globally, and how they interact with each other. In addition, the book examines the sociology of journalism development in Afghanistan since its news media became independent in 2001, and the habits and underlying philosophies its journalists have developed, including their tendency to look to U.S. news to make sense of the volatility, policies, and politics affecting their everyday lives.

It is broken into eight chapters. Chapter 1 acquaints the reader with the impact of the U.S. and Western news media in Afghanistan through the story of how President Hamid Karzai banished *New York Times* reporter Matthew Rosenberg in August 2014, during the final weeks of his presidency. The chapter uses this story as an entry point to the perceived hegemony U.S. news has in international affairs by foreign actors. It explains how news and nationalism intersect with international politics and introduces the reader to the groundbreaking yet nascent community of Afghan journalists who saw American and other Western journalists as their professional guides.

The second chapter discusses U.S. news reportage in the wake of 9/11 and how certain habits and norms in American national security journalism drove the coverage. It reviews scholarship on the U.S. news media's relationship with U.S. government and society, especially in the context of international issues and events. The chapter establishes that the foreign policy narrative in Washington is set by a small cohort of U.S. government officials, in addition to international news reporters and editors

for elite news agencies, like the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. Through interviews with U.S. officials and reporters, it also examines the roles the American government and news play in setting the agenda and framing events for the American public and how the U.S. press maintains an ethnocentric bias in its foreign reportage.

The third chapter examines how the American public was reintroduced to Afghanistan after the events of 9/11 and how the U.S. broadcast and print media began to frame “the good war” in October 2001. It analyzes the American news media’s relationship with Afghanistan beginning in the 1980s; the reality it has constructed since 2001 about Afghanistan and the conflict; the waning coverage of Afghanistan during the Iraq War from 2003 to 2009; its increased coverage when President Barack Obama took office in 2009; and its coverage since 2014, as the United States began to prepare to disengage militarily from the country. It also reviews some U.S. officials’ perceptions about their responsibilities to the press. During these 15 years, the news coverage, especially that of the broadcast news media, was tightly indexed to the degree of White House attention to the war and the intensity of conflict for American soldiers. Yet some American print news agencies, especially the Associated Press, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post*, have stayed committed to the Afghanistan news story despite decreased American presidential attention.

Having established the attitudes and norms of American national security news, Chapter 4 introduces the reader to the history of the Afghan news media, which was under either authoritarian or hyperpartisan control throughout the 20th century. This chapter explores the political and sociocultural factors that have contributed to the state of modern Afghan journalism, and how Afghan government officials have treated their press since 2001. Through the perspectives of more than 30 elite Afghan journalists, the chapter also examines the habits and norms local journalists have created, in addition to the impact of Western aid money and the presence of Western journalists in the country. The chapter also introduces the reader to the independent news media organizations that have helped to drive dramatic change in Afghan politics and society, often at a seemingly breakneck speed. In sum, it explains the patchwork media landscape of present-day Afghanistan and how it reflects the various power struggles between the country’s politicians, extremists, strongmen, and progressives—and foreign actors.

Chapter 5 describes the various sociological constraints modern Afghan journalists have to work within, not the least of which is a highly volatile

security environment within which they are often targeted with threats, in addition to a high degree of economic instability that jeopardizes their organizations' sustainability. Based on the interviews, it explores the ways in which they think of themselves, their relationships with Afghan government officials, and their roles in Afghan society. (Some of the journalists were interviewed on the record and are quoted by name, while others—due to Institutional Review Board [IRB] requirements for my dissertation research—were interviewed on background and are not named.) It also surveys the dense networks that Afghan journalists have created with American and other Western journalists to report news stories. Afghan journalists have an inherent national bias and are proud that U.S. elite news professionals find Afghanistan newsworthy as this confers legitimacy on Afghanistan's importance in the world. Yet given their nascent state, they acknowledged that they depend on Western journalists' reportage to hold Afghanistan's powerful accountable.

Chapter 6 focuses on the correspondents in Afghanistan who report for American news agencies, most, but not all, of whom are American. It reflects the views of more than a dozen news professionals who reported for elite news organizations on Afghanistan on how they perceived their roles. (As with the Afghan reporters interviewed, some of them were interviewed on the record, while others were interviewed on background and will not be named.) It discusses their agenda-setting power and their hegemonic role as purveyors of information to their primary and intended audience, Americans, and to the secondary audiences, such as Afghan journalists. The chapter explores these journalists' relationship with Afghan officials and explores what they believe the future of Afghan journalism will be.

Chapter 7 reviews how Afghan journalists perceive the “reality” journalists for American news organizations have constructed about Afghanistan, and how Afghan journalists make meaning from it. While reporters for U.S.-based news agencies saw Afghanistan through an American, or Western, lens, they rarely had the kind of access to U.S. officials’ secret information that Karzai, and many others, assumed they had. The actual day-to-day mechanics of U.S. press-state relations is embroiled in an infuriating state of mistrust and dysfunction for both parties. Afghan journalists and a majority of Afghan officials assume that U.S. journalists are advocates for the U.S. government’s foreign policies and are sometimes chauvinistically nationalistic, even jingoistic. The U.S. journalists vehemently reject this notion and the suggestion

that their coverage is blindly patriotic. Yet they agree that they are largely aligned with U.S. officials in protecting and advancing America's general interests abroad. This is natural. The majority of journalists writing for American agencies are American; they have a built-in worldview and sense of identity that is difficult to abandon when they are writing primarily for American audiences. But Afghan journalists also are emotionally affected by the news stories they read that reduce their country to being shattered and hopeless. Consuming U.S. news about Afghanistan can be an affront to their Afghan identity and can inspire intense feelings of nationalism and frustration within them.

WHILE THERE IS a detailed methodology section in Appendix I, there are a few issues I'd like to emphasize about how I constructed this book. First, I chose Afghanistan because of my professional history with the country and my ability to travel there with relative ease. In many ways, not the least of which is the sheer duration of the U.S. government and news media's engagement in the country, Afghanistan provides an exceptional new case study, a microcosm for press-state relations from two perspectives. While my initial research had included Pakistan as another case study for comparison, I chose to focus solely on the Afghanistan case study because of its richness.

Second, I use "the United States" and "the West" interchangeably. This is because, in Afghanistan especially, the United States is seen as a leader of other Western countries and a creator of liberal international institutions that currently give some structure to global affairs. The Afghan journalists and officials would also speak of the United States and the West interchangeably in their interviews. I also focus on reporters who work for U.S. news agencies, but not all of them are American. This is the case, for instance, with the *New York Times'* Carlotta Gall and Associated Press's Kathy Gannon, who are English and Canadian, respectively. For this reason, when speaking about U.S. correspondents, I sometimes do not simplify them as Americans but as "U.S. journalists" or "U.S. reporters" to indicate that they work for U.S. news agencies.

Third, the qualitative research reflected in the second half of the book focuses on three years in U.S.-Afghan relations and the U.S.-led war: 2010, 2012, and 2016. This corresponds with the years when I conducted my fieldwork in Kabul. My interviews therefore are focused mainly on Afghan and U.S. correspondents who were in Kabul at the same time that I was. I realize this does not cover the entire universe of correspondents, but

I believe the overall sample is strong. Since this research was originally initiated for my doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, it was subject to their IRB processes, which deemed all of the journalists I was interviewing to be vulnerable subjects. As mentioned earlier, all of the interviews from 2010 and 2012 are anonymous and, to curb confusion, I did not give them pseudonyms in the text. My interviews in 2016, and the few I completed from Washington and New York in 2017, were on the record and their names are noted accordingly. Those interviewed in 2016 and 2017 also included U.S. officials. All of them are public officials and gave consent to speak on the record. In addition, because of the permanence of U.S. print bureaus in the country and the parachute nature of broadcast journalism, I conducted few interviews with U.S. broadcast reporters, yet since most Afghan news agencies are broadcast, the strong majority of Afghan journalists I interviewed were broadcasters.

Last, I would be remiss if did not acknowledge the limitations of my own identity as an American researcher in Afghanistan as well as the biases journalists may have had toward me because of my nationality, gender, and past professional history as a U.S. government official. While I believe that I captured their unfiltered opinions on the issues I asked about during the interviews, it is not entirely unlikely that they felt they could not be completely candid. Also, to a certain extent, my own research was a sort of parachute journalism. For the sake of this research project, my time in Afghanistan amounted to approximately six months. Collectively, however, I have spent two years in the country over the course of 13 years, which gives me some long-term perspective on the place and the ability to filter out the most salient issues worthy of exploration.

AMERICANS AREN'T THE only ones paying attention to U.S. news about the world; those affected by U.S. foreign policy rarely live within American borders. The people who often care the most about U.S. foreign policy are the government officials, journalists, and publics who are directly affected by the policies created at a distance in Washington. American news has been largely accessible to interested foreign audiences for more than a century, yet technology has accelerated a media boomerang pattern for foreign correspondence: News written abroad for an American audience travels almost instantaneously back to the government officials, journalists, and citizens of the nation U.S. correspondents are talking about.

To most foreign citizens interested in the United States—if not to most Americans—Washington is an intangible place. But a surefire way to get a

sense of a nation and its priorities and worldview is to consume its news. People who speak English and have access to digital media can turn to U.S. news—normally, elite and mainstream agencies—to make their own meaning of U.S. intentions toward their country or region, and to see how America is projecting their country’s image across a global media landscape. While people can use the news of another nation to gain a sort of intelligence about its intentions in the world, it can also provoke strong nationalistic feelings when they see themselves through foreign citizens’ eyes. Contrary to those who hoped that a digital infrastructure would increase two-way flows of respectful dialogue, a greater flow of news and information does not necessarily bring understanding and peace between people and nations. National identity and bias can be maintained and reinforced through their national press, which travels internationally. And news content is both reported and understood ethnocentrically.

In foreign affairs, journalists are not merely observers to a story; they are participants in it. The stories they choose to tell, and how they tell them, can become dominant narratives in global politics. And America’s news narratives provide a national representation. Journalists who report about the world for U.S. news agencies are profoundly important liaisons. In developing countries, they can even be official and unofficial mentors to local press cohorts.

Given the longevity of the U.S. presence in Afghanistan and the Afghan news media’s dramatic proliferation since 2001, Afghanistan provides a fascinating case study for the role of journalists in conflict and diplomacy. By identifying, framing, and relaying narratives that affect the normative environment, U.S. correspondents have played unofficial diplomatic and developmental roles. They have negotiated the meaning of war and peace. Indirectly and directly, they have supported Afghan journalists in their professional growth. The impact they have had on Western public perceptions of the war and in the country’s development have been profound: They did not just provide the first draft of history on this enduring post-9/11 entanglement between the United States and Afghanistan—they actively shaped it.

Visit <https://ebookmass.com> today to explore

a vast collection of ebooks across various genres, available in popular formats like PDF, EPUB, and MOBI, fully compatible with all devices. Enjoy a seamless reading experience and effortlessly download high-quality materials in just a few simple steps. Plus, don't miss out on exciting offers that let you access a wealth of knowledge at the best prices!

Exploring the Variety of Random Documents with Different Content

Will receive vessels of 1500 tons measurement and under. The Dock is 82 feet in width, and 210 feet in length; is built of the soundest Oregon Pine, thoroughly braced and bolted, and is furnished with all the requisites for Docking a Ship successfully. Vessels taken up at all stages of the tide.

The Company feel warranted in stating that Repairs on Vessels can be made as advantageously in San Francisco in respect to cost of materials and labor as in any other part of the world.

For particulars, address

JAMES POLLOCK, Supt.,

San Francisco, California, U. S.

JUDD & WHELAN,
SHIPWRIGHTS, CAULKERS,
—AND—
Spar Makers.

REFER TO

Shedd & Farran; Major James T. Hoyt.
Quartermaster's Department; Lester & Co.,
Shipping Office; Simmons, Rowe & Co.

Yard—on Vallejo Street,

Between Front and Davis,

SAN FRANCISCO.

C. MOSS.

D. BEADLE.

MOSS & BEADLE,
COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
326 DAVIS STREET,

Corner of Washington,

SAN FRANCISCO.

JACKSON'S PACIFIC HOTEL,

Pacific st., bet. Front and Davis,
SAN FRANCISCO.

No Cure.

TO THE PUBLIC.
Pay.

No

Medical and Surgical Institute, Established in 1850,
by

DR. J. C. YOUNG,

(Formerly Professor of the University, Penn.)

No. 618 Sacramento st., bet. Montgomery and
Kearny,

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Consultation by letter or otherwise, free. The Doctor can be consulted privately, and with the utmost confidence, by the afflicted, at all hours, daily, from 9 A.M. until 8 P.M.

Cures always guaranteed, or no pay required.

Seminal Weakness.

I am aware that by dwelling upon so uninviting a subject as the decay of manly vigor through the loss of the vital principle of life, the ignorant may asperse my motive; but the desire to point out to those who suffer, languish and decay, the true cause of their afflictions is too great an incentive to be forced into abeyance. How extended the terrible disease of Seminal Weakness is, no one but the practical specialist, who devotes his time to its treatment can tell; but its presence can be detected

by the most inexperienced by noting the following symptoms: *Weakness of the back and limbs; languishing feelings; loss of muscular power; nervousness; irritability; cold feet and hands, accompanied by hot head; symptoms of consumption; short breath; flushings of the face; aversion in society; confusion of the mind; loss of memory; nightly emissions; colorless, slight discharges upon the least excitement; palpitation of the heart; irregular appetite; variable temper, etc., etc.*

To the Afflicted

there is hope and certainty of relief and cure. Thousands are annually cured, without hindrance from business or change of diet. The directions are readily followed. Even a man's most intimate companion cannot suspect of his being treated.

Persons afflicted living in the interior, can, by stating fully in a letter their symptoms, receive advice and remedies at home.

Important to Persons Afflicted with Venereal.

There are no maladies, either in a medical or moral point of view, worse than those arising from the contamination of VENEREAL POISON. None are more terrible in their effects, or more disastrous in their results. MERCURY will not cure VENEREAL, BUT DRIES ON THE SURFACE, TO ALLOW IT TO POISON AND DESTROY THE BLOOD, TO RE-APPEAR IN HIDEOUS MARKS UPON THE BODY, and in the throat, mouth and nose.

Having treated a great number of nautical men,
the Doctor fully understands their peculiar
requirements, and the medicines prescribed do not
interfere with their occupation.

All letters should be addressed, Dr. BENJ. F.
JOSSELYN, M. D. 618 Sacramento street, between
Montgomery and Kearny, San Francisco. Box 735.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PATENT AGENTS.

Mining and Scientific Press.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,

At No. 414 Clay Street, San Francisco.

If you are an Inventor, Patentee, Miner, Farmer, Manufacturer, Mechanic, or a progressive Student or Artisan in any Industrial or Professional Calling in the Pacific States or Territories, you are doing yourself irreparable injustice, if not already a subscriber and reader of the MINING AND SCIENTIFIC PRESS.

It contains hints and information enough to repay the subscription price many times in a single month.

Its columns are filled with instructive reading in plain, comprehensible and attractive form to minds of ordinary intelligence.

It contains 16 pages and 64 columns of the size of Harpers's Weekly, and is the best printed and most valuable paper on the western half of the continent. All claims of patents issued to inventors on this coast are reported. Illustrations of new machinery are given each week. Descriptions of new inventions and discoveries throughout the world, are given, with fresh and comprehensive information of scientific developments and mechanical and industrial progress, which cannot be obtained from books, or readily found gathered in so convenient a form elsewhere. Subscribe now, and you will not regret it.

PATENT AGENCY.

Messrs. DEWEY & Co., Publishers of the MINING AND SCIENTIFIC PRESS, the only well established successful Patent Agents west of the Rocky Mountains, give Inventors and Patentees honest and reliable advice, free. The Patent Business in all its legitimate branches is transacted by us intelligently and skillfully, in an able and straightforward manner. Patents secured in EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD where Patent Laws exist. Being long established, and transacting a large business, our appointments are thorough throughout, safe, prompt and responsible. Consultations by letter or otherwise, are kept inviolately secret. Circulars containing Illustrated Mechanical Movements, and HINTS AND INFORMATION FOR INVENTORS AND PATENTEES, sent free.

DEWEY & CO.,

Patent Agents, Publishers and Engravers,
414 Clay street, below Sansome, San Francisco.

**SPAULDING & BARTO,
Book and Job
PRINTERS,**

(Mining and Scientific Press Office,)

414 Clay Street, San Francisco.

Transcriber's Notes:

The cover image was created by the transcriber, and is in the public domain.

Typographical errors have been silently corrected but other variations in spelling and punctuation remain unaltered.

The "ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT" at the end contained many different and varied fonts. For simplicity, they have not been reproduced in this version.

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK THE LAW OF
STORMS ***

Updated editions will replace the previous one—the old editions will be renamed.

Creating the works from print editions not protected by U.S. copyright law means that no one owns a United States copyright in these works, so the Foundation (and you!) can copy and distribute it in the United States without permission and without paying copyright royalties. Special rules, set forth in the General Terms of Use part of this license, apply to copying and distributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works to protect the PROJECT GUTENBERG™ concept and trademark. Project Gutenberg is a registered trademark, and may not be used if you charge for an eBook, except by following the terms of the trademark license, including paying royalties for use of the Project Gutenberg trademark. If you do not charge anything for copies of this eBook, complying with the trademark license is very easy. You may use this eBook for nearly any purpose such as creation of derivative works, reports, performances and research. Project Gutenberg eBooks may be modified and printed and given away—you may do practically ANYTHING in the United States with eBooks not protected by U.S. copyright law. Redistribution is subject to the trademark license, especially commercial redistribution.

START: FULL LICENSE

THE FULL PROJECT GUTENBERG LICENSE

PLEASE READ THIS BEFORE YOU DISTRIBUTE OR USE THIS WORK

To protect the Project Gutenberg™ mission of promoting the free distribution of electronic works, by using or distributing this work (or any other work associated in any way with the phrase "Project Gutenberg"), you agree to comply with all the terms of the Full Project Gutenberg™ License available with this file or online at www.gutenberg.org/license.

Section 1. General Terms of Use and Redistributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works

1.A. By reading or using any part of this Project Gutenberg™ electronic work, you indicate that you have read, understand, agree to and accept all the terms of this license and intellectual property (trademark/copyright) agreement. If you do not agree to abide by all the terms of this agreement, you must cease using and return or destroy all copies of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works in your possession. If you paid a fee for obtaining a copy of or access to a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work and you do not agree to be bound by the terms of this agreement, you may obtain a refund from the person or entity to whom you paid the fee as set forth in paragraph 1.E.8.

1.B. "Project Gutenberg" is a registered trademark. It may only be used on or associated in any way with an electronic work by people who agree to be bound by the terms of this agreement. There are a few things that you can do with most Project Gutenberg™ electronic works even without complying with the full terms of this agreement. See paragraph 1.C below. There are a lot of things you can do with Project Gutenberg™ electronic works if you follow the terms of this agreement and help preserve free future access to Project Gutenberg™ electronic works. See paragraph 1.E below.

1.C. The Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation ("the Foundation" or PGLAF), owns a compilation copyright in the collection of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works. Nearly all the individual works in the collection are in the public domain in the United States. If an individual work is unprotected by copyright law in the United States and you are located in the United States, we do not claim a right to prevent you from copying, distributing, performing, displaying or creating derivative works based on the work as long as all references to Project Gutenberg are removed. Of course, we hope that you will support the Project Gutenberg™ mission of promoting free access to electronic works by freely sharing Project Gutenberg™ works in compliance with the terms of this agreement for keeping the Project Gutenberg™ name associated with the work. You can easily comply with the terms of this agreement by keeping this work in the same format with its attached full Project Gutenberg™ License when you share it without charge with others.

1.D. The copyright laws of the place where you are located also govern what you can do with this work. Copyright laws in most countries are in a constant state of change. If you are outside the United States, check the laws of your country in addition to the terms of this agreement before downloading, copying, displaying, performing, distributing or creating derivative works based on this work or any other Project Gutenberg™ work. The Foundation makes no representations concerning the copyright status of any work in any country other than the United States.

1.E. Unless you have removed all references to Project Gutenberg:

1.E.1. The following sentence, with active links to, or other immediate access to, the full Project Gutenberg™ License must appear prominently whenever any copy of a Project Gutenberg™ work (any work on which the phrase "Project Gutenberg" appears, or with which the phrase "Project Gutenberg" is associated) is accessed, displayed, performed, viewed, copied or distributed:

This eBook is for the use of anyone anywhere in the United States and most other parts of the world at no cost and with almost no restrictions whatsoever. You may copy it, give it away or re-use it under the terms of the Project Gutenberg License included with this eBook or online at www.gutenberg.org. If you are not located in the United States, you will have to check the laws of the country where you are located before using this eBook.

1.E.2. If an individual Project Gutenberg™ electronic work is derived from texts not protected by U.S. copyright law (does not contain a notice indicating that it is posted with permission of the copyright holder), the work can be copied and distributed to anyone in the United States without paying any fees or charges. If you are redistributing or providing access to a work with the phrase "Project Gutenberg" associated with or appearing on the work, you must comply either with the requirements of paragraphs 1.E.1 through 1.E.7 or obtain permission for the use of the work and the Project Gutenberg™ trademark as set forth in paragraphs 1.E.8 or 1.E.9.

1.E.3. If an individual Project Gutenberg™ electronic work is posted with the permission of the copyright holder, your use and distribution must comply with both paragraphs 1.E.1 through 1.E.7 and any additional terms imposed by the copyright holder. Additional terms will be linked to the Project Gutenberg™ License for all works posted with the permission of the copyright holder found at the beginning of this work.

1.E.4. Do not unlink or detach or remove the full Project Gutenberg™ License terms from this work, or any files containing a part of this work or any other work associated with Project Gutenberg™.

1.E.5. Do not copy, display, perform, distribute or redistribute this electronic work, or any part of this electronic work, without prominently displaying the sentence set forth in paragraph 1.E.1

with active links or immediate access to the full terms of the Project Gutenberg™ License.

1.E.6. You may convert to and distribute this work in any binary, compressed, marked up, nonproprietary or proprietary form, including any word processing or hypertext form. However, if you provide access to or distribute copies of a Project Gutenberg™ work in a format other than "Plain Vanilla ASCII" or other format used in the official version posted on the official Project Gutenberg™ website (www.gutenberg.org), you must, at no additional cost, fee or expense to the user, provide a copy, a means of exporting a copy, or a means of obtaining a copy upon request, of the work in its original "Plain Vanilla ASCII" or other form. Any alternate format must include the full Project Gutenberg™ License as specified in paragraph 1.E.1.

1.E.7. Do not charge a fee for access to, viewing, displaying, performing, copying or distributing any Project Gutenberg™ works unless you comply with paragraph 1.E.8 or 1.E.9.

1.E.8. You may charge a reasonable fee for copies of or providing access to or distributing Project Gutenberg™ electronic works provided that:

- You pay a royalty fee of 20% of the gross profits you derive from the use of Project Gutenberg™ works calculated using the method you already use to calculate your applicable taxes. The fee is owed to the owner of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark, but he has agreed to donate royalties under this paragraph to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation. Royalty payments must be paid within 60 days following each date on which you prepare (or are legally required to prepare) your periodic tax returns. Royalty payments should be clearly marked as such and sent to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation at the address specified in Section 4, "Information

about donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation.”

- You provide a full refund of any money paid by a user who notifies you in writing (or by e-mail) within 30 days of receipt that s/he does not agree to the terms of the full Project Gutenberg™ License. You must require such a user to return or destroy all copies of the works possessed in a physical medium and discontinue all use of and all access to other copies of Project Gutenberg™ works.
- You provide, in accordance with paragraph 1.F.3, a full refund of any money paid for a work or a replacement copy, if a defect in the electronic work is discovered and reported to you within 90 days of receipt of the work.
- You comply with all other terms of this agreement for free distribution of Project Gutenberg™ works.

1.E.9. If you wish to charge a fee or distribute a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work or group of works on different terms than are set forth in this agreement, you must obtain permission in writing from the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, the manager of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark. Contact the Foundation as set forth in Section 3 below.

1.F.

1.F.1. Project Gutenberg volunteers and employees expend considerable effort to identify, do copyright research on, transcribe and proofread works not protected by U.S. copyright law in creating the Project Gutenberg™ collection. Despite these efforts, Project Gutenberg™ electronic works, and the medium on which they may be stored, may contain “Defects,” such as, but not limited to, incomplete, inaccurate or corrupt data, transcription errors, a copyright or other intellectual property infringement, a defective or

damaged disk or other medium, a computer virus, or computer codes that damage or cannot be read by your equipment.

1.F.2. LIMITED WARRANTY, DISCLAIMER OF DAMAGES - Except for the "Right of Replacement or Refund" described in paragraph 1.F.3, the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, the owner of the Project Gutenberg™ trademark, and any other party distributing a Project Gutenberg™ electronic work under this agreement, disclaim all liability to you for damages, costs and expenses, including legal fees. YOU AGREE THAT YOU HAVE NO REMEDIES FOR NEGLIGENCE, STRICT LIABILITY, BREACH OF WARRANTY OR BREACH OF CONTRACT EXCEPT THOSE PROVIDED IN PARAGRAPH 1.F.3. YOU AGREE THAT THE FOUNDATION, THE TRADEMARK OWNER, AND ANY DISTRIBUTOR UNDER THIS AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE LIABLE TO YOU FOR ACTUAL, DIRECT, INDIRECT, CONSEQUENTIAL, PUNITIVE OR INCIDENTAL DAMAGES EVEN IF YOU GIVE NOTICE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH DAMAGE.

1.F.3. LIMITED RIGHT OF REPLACEMENT OR REFUND - If you discover a defect in this electronic work within 90 days of receiving it, you can receive a refund of the money (if any) you paid for it by sending a written explanation to the person you received the work from. If you received the work on a physical medium, you must return the medium with your written explanation. The person or entity that provided you with the defective work may elect to provide a replacement copy in lieu of a refund. If you received the work electronically, the person or entity providing it to you may choose to give you a second opportunity to receive the work electronically in lieu of a refund. If the second copy is also defective, you may demand a refund in writing without further opportunities to fix the problem.

1.F.4. Except for the limited right of replacement or refund set forth in paragraph 1.F.3, this work is provided to you 'AS-IS', WITH NO OTHER WARRANTIES OF ANY KIND, EXPRESS OR IMPLIED,

INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO WARRANTIES OF MERCHANTABILITY OR FITNESS FOR ANY PURPOSE.

1.F.5. Some states do not allow disclaimers of certain implied warranties or the exclusion or limitation of certain types of damages. If any disclaimer or limitation set forth in this agreement violates the law of the state applicable to this agreement, the agreement shall be interpreted to make the maximum disclaimer or limitation permitted by the applicable state law. The invalidity or unenforceability of any provision of this agreement shall not void the remaining provisions.

1.F.6. INDEMNITY - You agree to indemnify and hold the Foundation, the trademark owner, any agent or employee of the Foundation, anyone providing copies of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works in accordance with this agreement, and any volunteers associated with the production, promotion and distribution of Project Gutenberg™ electronic works, harmless from all liability, costs and expenses, including legal fees, that arise directly or indirectly from any of the following which you do or cause to occur: (a) distribution of this or any Project Gutenberg™ work, (b) alteration, modification, or additions or deletions to any Project Gutenberg™ work, and (c) any Defect you cause.

Section 2. Information about the Mission of Project Gutenberg™

Project Gutenberg™ is synonymous with the free distribution of electronic works in formats readable by the widest variety of computers including obsolete, old, middle-aged and new computers. It exists because of the efforts of hundreds of volunteers and donations from people in all walks of life.

Volunteers and financial support to provide volunteers with the assistance they need are critical to reaching Project Gutenberg™'s goals and ensuring that the Project Gutenberg™ collection will

remain freely available for generations to come. In 2001, the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation was created to provide a secure and permanent future for Project Gutenberg™ and future generations. To learn more about the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation and how your efforts and donations can help, see Sections 3 and 4 and the Foundation information page at www.gutenberg.org.

Section 3. Information about the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation

The Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation is a non-profit 501(c)(3) educational corporation organized under the laws of the state of Mississippi and granted tax exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service. The Foundation's EIN or federal tax identification number is 64-6221541. Contributions to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation are tax deductible to the full extent permitted by U.S. federal laws and your state's laws.

The Foundation's business office is located at 809 North 1500 West, Salt Lake City, UT 84116, (801) 596-1887. Email contact links and up to date contact information can be found at the Foundation's website and official page at www.gutenberg.org/contact

Section 4. Information about Donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation

Project Gutenberg™ depends upon and cannot survive without widespread public support and donations to carry out its mission of increasing the number of public domain and licensed works that can be freely distributed in machine-readable form accessible by the widest array of equipment including outdated equipment. Many

small donations (\$1 to \$5,000) are particularly important to maintaining tax exempt status with the IRS.

The Foundation is committed to complying with the laws regulating charities and charitable donations in all 50 states of the United States. Compliance requirements are not uniform and it takes a considerable effort, much paperwork and many fees to meet and keep up with these requirements. We do not solicit donations in locations where we have not received written confirmation of compliance. To SEND DONATIONS or determine the status of compliance for any particular state visit www.gutenberg.org/donate.

While we cannot and do not solicit contributions from states where we have not met the solicitation requirements, we know of no prohibition against accepting unsolicited donations from donors in such states who approach us with offers to donate.

International donations are gratefully accepted, but we cannot make any statements concerning tax treatment of donations received from outside the United States. U.S. laws alone swamp our small staff.

Please check the Project Gutenberg web pages for current donation methods and addresses. Donations are accepted in a number of other ways including checks, online payments and credit card donations. To donate, please visit: www.gutenberg.org/donate.

Section 5. General Information About Project Gutenberg™ electronic works

Professor Michael S. Hart was the originator of the Project Gutenberg™ concept of a library of electronic works that could be freely shared with anyone. For forty years, he produced and distributed Project Gutenberg™ eBooks with only a loose network of volunteer support.

Project Gutenberg™ eBooks are often created from several printed editions, all of which are confirmed as not protected by copyright in the U.S. unless a copyright notice is included. Thus, we do not necessarily keep eBooks in compliance with any particular paper edition.

Most people start at our website which has the main PG search facility: www.gutenberg.org.

This website includes information about Project Gutenberg™, including how to make donations to the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, how to help produce our new eBooks, and how to subscribe to our email newsletter to hear about new eBooks.

Welcome to our website – the perfect destination for book lovers and knowledge seekers. We believe that every book holds a new world, offering opportunities for learning, discovery, and personal growth. That's why we are dedicated to bringing you a diverse collection of books, ranging from classic literature and specialized publications to self-development guides and children's books.

More than just a book-buying platform, we strive to be a bridge connecting you with timeless cultural and intellectual values. With an elegant, user-friendly interface and a smart search system, you can quickly find the books that best suit your interests. Additionally, our special promotions and home delivery services help you save time and fully enjoy the joy of reading.

Join us on a journey of knowledge exploration, passion nurturing, and personal growth every day!